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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE SPORTS BOOKMAKER

by

Brent Andrew James Patterson

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Edmonton, Alberta

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled An Occupational Analysis of the Sports Bookmaker

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of the bookmaker in society. To accomplish this task, interviews were conducted with bookmakers in the province of Alberta.

In total, ten bookmakers were interviewed, none of whom took wagers on horse racing. The horse racing bookmakers would not consent to be interviewed. Each bookmaker was visited twice and in some cases three times to gather sufficient data.

All bookmakers were from a lower class background which usually meant they were members of a large family and that they were not native born Canadians. All of the bookmakers were single although two of them had been married, but only for a brief period. The nature of the business seemed to inhibit a conventional marriage and as a result none of them saw marriage being in their future plans.

The bookmakers all had rather predictable relationships with people who were an integral part of their business. The bookmakers' clients are his lifeline and as such are treated with respect and in a very businesslike manner. Contact with other bookmakers also must be maintained because they use each other for lay-off bets. As a result these interviews are usually very cordial yet businesslike. The police were not a major hindrance to the bookmaker. Generally both parties stay out of each others way. Only if the bookmaker is extremely open in his dealings do the police step in.

The bookmaker is a man running a business. He extends credit and expects prompt payment from his clients just as they expect the same from him. Transactions cease if either party does not meet their

commitment. Not by violence, but by word getting out on the streets as to either the bookmaker or client being a bad risk.

A friend, a businessman, this is the bookmaker. Legalized gambling will not eliminate him as he offers too many benefits to his clients. For example, credit and tax free winnings ensure that he will always be around despite efforts by the government to eliminate him.

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I

INTRODUCTION

An Occupational Analysis of the Sports Bookmaker

There are no precise figures as to how much money is gambled annually in North America, but it is estimated as being more than that spent on education or defense each year (King 1969). As a society we are committing staggering sums of money to promote legal and illegal gambling.

Some aspects of the gambling industry are open to public scrutiny. For example, there is a mass of data on horse racing, lotteries, casinos and card games, yet despite the availability of these facts we still know very little about the overall gambling industry. One of the reasons we know so little about gambling is because much of it is illegal.

In North America the most prominent illegal gambling role is that of the bookmaker. It is felt that by studying this role we can obtain a better understanding of the extent of gambling and provide answers to questions such as: who gambles, how much they gamble and what they gamble on.

At this moment someone in North America is phoning a bookmaker to place a bet on some sporting event. These people see nothing wrong with what they are doing. They are simply taking a chance, a luxury many of them can afford. To them a bookmaker is a man or woman with whom they do business, much like a stock specialist.

It is estimated that in the United States alone there are 300,000 bookmakers who employ an additional 1,300,000 helpers. This amounts to 1,600,000 people who earn their livelihood in this manner (Lester,

1979). Despite the considerable number of people involved in bookmaking, little is known about what these people are really like. A major aim of this study is to provide a profile of the bookmaker, who he is, and how he operates.

The Problem

The bookmaker ostensibly faces many problems in trying to carry out his business transactions. Police harassment, alleged involvement with organized crime and a negative public image result in difficulty for the bookmaker trying to run his business. This shady public image has largely been due to the involvement of some bookmakers in the fixing of certain games. The two most prominent incidents being the fixing of the 1919 World Series and the college basketball scandals in the 50's. These scandals, along with the movie portrayals of bookmakers, have resulted in an unsavory image of the bookmaker.

Considering the popularity of illegal gambling, very little is known about the bookmaker and his multi-billion dollar business. Through the use of in-depth interviews and personal observations, the purpose of this study is to do a role analysis of the bookmaker, to analyze the function he performs in society. As part of the study the author will determine how their initial involvement in bookmaking occurred, and how it was they got into the business on a full time basis. The bookmakers' actual business operations will be examined, including how they acquire and retain a clientele. In addition, there will be an analysis of their relationships with others in the business, as well as a discussion of the hazards they face.

Justification of the Study

1. Although there has been a substantial amount of research on gambling in general, little information has been produced on the bookmaker's role. This is a central role in the entire gambling system and it needs to be understood before such a possibility as legalized gambling becomes a reality.
2. This study should assist the public in being educated about the bookmaker, and his function in society. The result of this knowledge may lead to a changed attitude toward this possibly misunderstood member of society.
3. By studying the bookmaker we can find out more about who gambles, how much is gambled, and on what sports people gamble.
4. Very few studies in sport sociology attempt to analyze deviant roles related to sport. With sport becoming so predominant in our society any threat to its integrity requires analysis.

Definition of Terms

Bookmaker: Is the person who a accepts bets on sporting events, numbers, or just about any event where odds can be set. Also referred to as a "bookie".

Cheesebox: A switching device, which supplies bettors with telephone numbers, that they may call to place bets. It allowed the bookmaker to be somewhere else in case of a raid. So called because the first one discovered by police was hidden in a cheesebox. A machine that would redirect a telephone call from one phone to another. (Messick and Goldbatt 1976).

Closing Line: The last quoted set of point spreads before a game.

Gambling: The act of betting on a future event or series of events, whose outcome is uncertain and beyond direct power or control of the bettor; the placing of stakes in money, in conditions in which a commercial organizer, manager or promoter, or any combination of these seeks to obtain individually or collectively a profit or share from this activity (Rosser 1974).

Layoff: If a bookmaker is receiving asymmetric amounts of bets on his point spreads, he can layoff the excess by trading or making bets with other bookmakers (Eadington 1976).

Opening Line: The set of point spreads presented early in the week covering the week's games. They may vary slightly from city to city, and may change through the week.

Runner: Customer contacts hired by the bookmaker, who collect and disperse payments in return for a percentage of the customers' losses.

Taking a Lead: Some bookmakers will anticipate how their customers are going to bet a game and will layoff before they bet; this is referred to as taking a lead.

Vigorish: The percentage of all betting handled that goes to the bookmaker, the racetrack, or whoever else is running the action. Also referred to as "vig" or "juice".

Outline of the Study

The first chapter has provided the rationale and purpose of this study. Chapter II will comprise a review of the literature related to gambling generally and the bookmaker specifically. Due to the limited

information available directly on the bookmaker, a general overview of sports gambling will be presented. The following topics: history of gambling, who gambles, why people gamble, the economics of gambling and the history of the bookmaker will be included in this chapter. Chapter III presents the research design and methodology that was used in this study. Chapter IV outlines the findings of the study. This chapter will also present a discussion of the results and how they relate to the previous literature. Finally, Chapter V provides a summary of the study's highlights, the conclusions, as well as offering suggestions for further investigations into sports gambling.

II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Gambling Through the Ages

An historical glance at gambling shows that it has been found in almost every society, both ancient and modern. There are records of gambling dating back 10,000 years, but as the result of archeological digs, which will be referred to later, we can infer that gambling has been a fundamental human activity since the beginning of time (Allen 1952).

There is even a myth which holds that Eve ate the apple to settle a bet; she had a wager with the serpent as to the number of seeds it contained. She swallowed one of the seeds and so lost the bet in addition to becoming pregnant (Messick 1976).

The compulsive gambler was recognized as early as biblical Egypt. These types were sent to the quarries to work off their markers by honing stones for the pyramids. In addition, the loaded dice used by many of the Pharoahs, who, incidentally, were said to be crooked gamblers, have recently been unearthed by archeologists (Wagner 1972). Gambling paintings and implements have been found in the tombs of various Pharoahs. Also discovered in Egyptian ruins were ivory Astrogael, the earliest known forms of dice, which seem to have been designed to promote gambling (Cotton 1709) (Messick 1976).

Perhaps the oldest game is ENCLOSING, referred to as WEI-KI in Chinese and GO in Japanese. It is said to date back to 2300 B.C. but the first records of it go back only as far as 300 B.C. It is not known if the ancient Chinese used this game for gambling purposes, but it is

likely since it is used for this purpose today (Ashton 1898).

It is known that the ancient Jews gambled by drawing or casting lots. The Bible gives many examples of making decisions by means of "lots". This presupposes the use of dice (Allen 1952). Moses, for example, cast lots to divide the promised land among the people of Isreal. Money won at play from another Jew was looked upon as theft and could be recovered, but if won from a gentile it was not viewed as theft but was illegal on other grounds (Ashton 1898).

Gambling was also very popular in Greece and Rome, although it was illegal in both countries. In Greek mythology, Palamedes invented the dice and taught his fellow soldiers how to play craps in order to relieve the boredom during the long seige of Troy. He soon learned the practice of trick dice throwing, which modern gamblers refer to as whip shooting or riding the dice, and was eventually stoned to death for these deceptive gambling practices (Reid and Demaris 1963). Palamedes thus has the distinction of being the first gambling cheater to be put to death for his habits, a practice that has been carried on throughout history.

The first mounted horse race took place in the Thirty-third Olympiad in Greece in 624 B.C. (Kaplan 1970). The Romans had severe laws against gambling, but even they relaxed these laws during their annual December festival called Satyrnalis. The excavations at Pompeii have produced vast amounts of evidence on gambling, for example - loaded dice, tavern signs advertising gaming tables and rooms, as well, gaming tables have been found in the corridors of the Coliseum and at the Temple of Venus (Allen 1952) (Messick 1976).

In England, playing dice dates back to the times of the Saxons and Danes. Despite laws to prohibit it, dicing continued to be practised until the time of Elizabeth I when it became even more popular, possibly as the result of more being written about it in the literature of the times (Allen 1952). Organized horse racing began in England in 1174 during the reign of Henry II (Ashton 1898).

So far, gambling has been considered in general terms; however, large scale gambling evolved in Europe in the form of lotteries. Merchants in the Middle Ages - in Germany, Italy and England - discovered that a higher profit could be garnered when non-essential articles were sold as prizes in lottery draws. The first English lottery was held in 1569, the rules of the drawing as provided in Roman times stated that everyone who bought a ticket received a prize. This form of gambling became rampant. The English settlers carried their knowledge of lotteries to America with them.

In America all of the 13 colonies established lotteries to raise revenue. By 1832, 66.4 million dollars a year was collected through lotteries in eight eastern states or four times more than the expenditures of the federal government (Currens 1977). The last congressional attempt to establish a national lottery was in 1823 when a group of professional operators was authorized to establish a Grand National Lottery. The promotors held a drawing and disappeared. By the mid 1800's lotteries constituted a drain on the economy and since they were often fraudently run, they were outlawed in 1895. The Louisiana Lottery was the last state lottery until New Hampshire established one in 1964 (Currens 1977). As of 1979, there are twelve state run lotteries.

In 1665 horse racing was started in America. The first race was run at the Newmarket Course in Hempstead, Long Island. At this time, all bets were placed between gentlemen and sports (owners, trainers). As horse racing grew in popularity, horses were imported, stud books were printed and the bookmaker began to take an interest. He soon became an integral part of the system; in many instances so powerful that the races were all fixed. It was not until 1942, when the Thoroughbred Racing Association came into being, that any major steps were taken to control the massive fixes taking place. The bookmakers were controlling who won by paying various groups, eg. jockeys, off to win or lose. The annual payroll of those running the sport now amounts to tens of millions of dollars (Kaplan and Loughney, 1970). It is big business because of the millions of North Americans who enjoy the excitement of betting on horse racing.

In 1975 New Jersey introduced the first state operated numbers game. This was the first real attempt by a state to compete with the illegal bookmakers. The numbers game is one in which the player attempts to select a series of numbers which will match the winning set. Eight states now operate numbers games, and from the revenue they receive, seem to be able to compete with the illegal games (Curren 1977).

In 1976, the Attorney General of Delaware ruled that a sports betting lottery would be permissible under state law. The two games legalized, Football Bonus and Touchdown, paid off on a pari-mutuel basis which means the odds fluctuated, or how much could be won, changed, based on the number of bets placed. This proposal met resistance from National Football League administrators. Their objection was that the operation would jeopardize the integrity of professional sports. As a result of a lawsuit brought forth by the NFL, the courts ruled that the

state must use a disclaimer on all promotions, stating the lottery was not sanctioned by the NFL.

In the first few weeks of existence, the sports pool did not become as big a money maker as expected. The problem was twofold; first, people did not understand or like the pari-mutuel wagering system and even though payoffs could be lowered they wanted fixed odds as provided by the bookmakers. Second, the players did not know how to select point spreads, which in the past had always been provided by the bookmakers.

In the final three weeks of the season, the state of Delaware sanctioned a new game, Touchdown II, offering fixed payoffs and giving point spreads. Sales immediately shot up 30 percent. But in the last week the game ran into difficulty. In five of the games that week the state's point spreads differed from the bookmakers. This situation reached the media who printed a story, with interviews from bookmakers on how to beat the state. Delaware cancelled the game but due to public pressure the Attorney General announced the game should be played, and that all winners should be paid off. The state paid off the winners, which necessitated removing funds from the lottery commissions emergency fund. Needless to say, the game is no longer in operation (Currens 1977). The only states now allowing sports betting are Nevada and Montana, but in both of these states the betting is state licensed rather than state operated.

Very little has been written on the history of gambling in Canada. Canada does not have any legal sports betting shops, but it does have horse racing as a form of gambling available to the public. Unlike the United States, however, betting on horse racing is only legal at the track. O.T.B. (off track betting) is illegal in all provinces. Horse

racing is the only sport in Canada where legal wagering is allowed, although there are a number of legal lotteries.

The first Canadian lottery was started in Quebec in 1970 (Weinstein and Deitch, 1974). It was in reality three different lotteries, one for every taste and pocketbook. As a result of the success of this lottery, there was a movement to establish a Canadian Lottery. An act of parliament on June 7, 1976, established Loto Canada as a Crown Corporation (Loto Canada Pamphlet). In its first three years of existence Loto Canada made $161 million in net revenue, which was made available to amateur sport programs, athletes and provincial treasurers. It is now one of the largest lotteries in the world, and has purportedly benefitted all the people of Canada (Loto Canada Pamphlet). One of the major reasons for this lottery's success is because of an agreement between the federal and provincial lotteries based on each receiving a fair share of the lottery market. With this agreement, the future of lotteries such as the Provincial and Western Express appear secure. Loto Canada was disbanded a little over a year ago, but there is supposed to be a federal government sports betting system commencing the fall of 1982.

Why People Gamble

There have been very few attempts in recent years to determine the exact nature of gambling. The modern research has tended to concentrate on gambling as an abnormal activity, yet when one looks at the wide variety of individuals involved in gambling, the practice seems illogical.

Psychiatrists have looked at excessive gambling as a sickness which can sometimes be cured. Freud was among the first to analyze the effects of gambling. He suggested that masturbation is the "primal addiction",

for which all later addictions are substitutes. That the gambling passion is aroused by a sublimation of the player's oedipal aggression against his father (Herman 1976). Bergler (1979) has written more on gambling than any other psychiatrist and has developed a theory on the cause of gambling neurosis. His proposition is based on the fact that a gambler is a neurotic with the unconscious wish to lose despite overt behavior that is seemingly directed towards winning. Bergler arrived at this conclusion by observing people who continued to gamble against all odds and chance. These chronic gamblers were suspected of having masochistic tendencies. However, the compulsive gambler constitutes only a small minority of mass gambling and, therefore, to fully understand "Why People Gamble" one needs to broaden the analysis.

One school of thought is that all gambling is a function of the animistic state of mind. Allen (1952) defines animism as a reaction to chance on the part of the human organism. He also feels that because elements of chance are prevalent in all aspects of society, the degree to which the likelihood for error exists is a measure of that society's progress and development. Allen (1952), King (1969) and Newman (1972), all agree that gambling can be viewed as a function of animism and is a special manifestation of it in the face of a conflict situation (Rosser 1974). Gambling is not only a reaction to conflict, but a symbol of conflict in its purest form. In gambling, the relationship of man to his fate is exhibited. The question for the gambler becomes "Am I lucky or unlucky?".

Why has gambling tended to focus on games? An examination of games reveals that they are divided into two large categories; games of skill and games of chance. The two types of games are the product of two

different states of mind working toward the satisfaction of the same psychological need. Games of chance are the products of the animistic of mind and games of skill the product of the scientific state of mind (Allen 1952).

The difference between these categories is the criterion for the development of gambling. Games of skill attempt to dominate and reduce the effectiveness of chance by developing and applying knowledge, technique and experience; whereas games of change diminish skill. Games of skill rely on fate to a lesser degree than games of chance.

Logically, increasing man's capacity to survive can only be accomplished by a scientific mind. This is in contradiction to the argument that gambling is able to increase man's ability to survive. In the gambling situation the participants have given up their attempt to dominate fate and instead have rested their economic and emotional survival on sheer chance.

Under the preceding premise, gambling in Western society is an anomaly, because Western society socializes its members to be able to reduce raw emotion to intelligence. Gambling denies this characteristic, as one attempts to dominate fate by non-intellectual means. Our society has always used intelligence to reduce its vulnerability to chance, while gambling increases that vulnerability by exposure to it. If gambling becomes a skill, then this premise no longer applies.

We can see the profound implications that the pervasiveness of gambling holds for us. If gambling is a function of animism, then animism must be fundamental to our way of life. To eliminate gambling would, therefore, require the elimination of the animistic way of thinking.

If Allen's hypothesis is accepted, then the incidence of economic,

sociological, psychological and political disruption that results from gambling can be seen as an expression of animism, and as such it is impossible to eradicate.

While the preceding may serve as a general guide as to why people gamble, the following material will specify which types of individuals are most prone to gamble,

Perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of gambling and society has been provided by Devereux (1949). In his structural functional analysis he considers gambling to be a safety valve to balance present society's subscription to its conflicting heritage of Puritanism-cum-Capitalism, and also to Christianity. The structural features of capitalism require motivation and specific characteristics among the members of society. Economic goals are to be rational rather than emotional. Capitalism conflicts with some of the values of Christianity. Hard work and self denial are often replaced with self seeking, acquisitive actions. Devereux (1949) argues that since the attraction of material commodities exert a more powerful influence than commitment to moral salvation, then gambling parallels our social values promoting competitiveness and opportunism.

His final argument is that gambling can be fun. The sport may be of intrinsic interest and placing a bet on one's favorite team serves to heighten that interest. By participating one may also play the sport of kings and thus receive a temporary status boost.

Goffman (1967) proposes that a player gambles in the pursuit of character. Although loss is possible, a character gain can occur. It provides himself with the opportunity to present himself to others and maintain a particular moral character. The word "moral" is used by

Goffman in the sense that these qualities are evaluated by others to help form a projection of the total person. By voluntarily participating in a fateful situation, one is able to project a character as well as possibly receiving additional financial rewards and excitement. In North America today most outlets are commercialized settings such as race tracks, casinos and sports events. These events allow any one to get a piece of the action if they can pay the price.

Klausner (1967) and his analysis of stress seeking would agree with the theory proposed by Goffman even though he does not mention gambling as an example of stress seeking. He states that stress seeking contributes to the development of morale and role commitment.

Bloch (1962) has proposed an alternative theory to explain the existence of gambling. He stresses the fundamental ambivalance between morally disapproved and publicly enjoyed practises and ascribes to the economic system itself certain internal consistencies, which being unable to achieve self reconciliation will relieve themselves by discharging on a substitute object, i.e. gambling (Rosser 1974). Since our market economy is essentially made up of the same characteristics as gambling, namely, chance, competitiveness and uncertainty, the utilization of gambling as a scapegoat allows us to maintain two contradictory value systems.

Davies (1955) states that the urge to gamble, to risk a little in order to gain a lot, to get something for nothing, is innate in human beings. Nevertheless, the human nature is such a complex entity that it is hardly an explanation for gambling behavior.

Rubner (1966) has developed a model in which he identifies five urges he feels are present when people gamble. People rarely act for

only one reason. The following are usually present in most gambling activities, but depending on both the game and individual the composition of the motivation-complex will vary.

1. Pleasure of Uncertainty -

   Studies of betting have shown that the favorites are never backed as strongly as past performances would warrant. The thrill of a possible large win seems to know no intellectual bound.

2. Entertainment -

   The social atmosphere in a betting shop or of a gambling situation has an intrinsic value for people. Gambling at fairs or with friends usually evokes some form of euphoria.

3. Charitable Elation -

   These are the people who usually purchase sweepstake, lottery or raffle tickets. These people rationalize their betting by telling themselves it is for a good cause. In large sweepstakes it is seldom true that charity is the motive, but the possibility of the grand prize is what lures them. The buyers of raffle tickets for smaller clubs are usually disguised donors who either throw their tickets away or donate their prize to the organizing charity.

4. Psychological Satisfaction -

   Many people gamble to have a chance to beat the odds. Some want to test their fate and others seek the social approval that is earned by a winner.

5. Wanting the Money -

   This is possibly the major reason for people gambling. (The

calculated economic risk of attaining a large prize.)

Veblen's (1859) thesis of gambling provides one of the very few sociological suppositions to explain gambling behavior. He saw gambling as made up of two major elements. The first and earliest is the belief in luck. The other element is the desire for an anticipated winner or the partisan of the anticipated winning side. This is the aspect of gambling which reflects the invidious comparison prominent in the leisure class frame of reference. The leisure class gambles in the hope of winning, but without the anticipation of becoming instantly wealthy to remove them from their present situation.

Gambling behavior has been viewed as both a normal and abnormal action. The following two researchers both support the viewpoint that gambling is a normal form of behavior.

Huizinga (1950) has described play as a necessary precursor of civilization. Certain elements of play such as voluntarily imposing rules on oneself are required for the development of culture and civilization. Play is characterized by Huizinga as a voluntary, non-serious act. He concludes that both play and ritual are the same, especially since both transport the individual to another world.

If one adopts Huizinga's view of play and culture, gambling becomes another instinctual desire for play. To understand gambling in society one must understand the following two aspects of play. First, the overlap between work and gambling, and second, the relationship between ritual and gambling. Huizinga (1950), Caillois (1962) and Adler (1966), have all described gambling as an appeal to supernatural powers. The emphasis on ritual, superstition and magic in gambling is similar to the religious systems of primitive animistic societies.

Caillois (1962) also related work to gambling. By using Huizinga's idea of the role of play in the development of civilization, play is a basic human action. Play is characterized by (1) isolation from real life, (2) uncertainty of outcome, and (3) unproductive voluntary activity from which you can withdraw at any time. The basic forms of play as characterized by Caillois are (1) AGON or competition, (2) MIMCRY or simulation, (3) ALEA or chance, and (4) ILLINX or vertigo.

According to Caillois, Alea is the play form of gambling. Civilization requires the substitution of AGON for ALEA but it remains in society due to the failure of competition to result in rewards. ALEA is a complimentary agent to AGON since in ALEA all are equal and have the same chance for success.

Gambling results from the strain caused by AGON for members of society who are unable to succeed at goal oriented behaviors. This idea is the central theme in many explanations of gambling due to a success oriented society. Members of society must also prove their ability to take chances and cope with the outcome; this is a function that gambling provides.

Finally, Herman (1976) suggests that gambling provides satisfaction for urges toward decision making, self reliance and autonomy, which are attainable by only a small minority but are present in all modern industrial societies. Herman discovered that gambling satisfies the human needs that the gambler may not be able to satisfy in his normal life. He also noted that there are different needs for gamblers from different socio-economic classes. Decision making was the main attraction for working class men, while working women gambled to bring excitement into an otherwise boring daily routine. For the wealthy, gambling is

yet another reinforcement of their socio-economic status. They gamble for fun, something they can afford to do, regardless of winning or losing.

As we can see, there is no one theory of gambling behavior that experts agree on. The theories are too varied and numerous to come up with one exact model, but common elements are found throughout. The majority of themes do, however, seem to identify one common cultural variable, namely, the different social classes. This variable appears to be ubiquitous in all the theories.

Criticisms of gambling often center on the economic and social costs for society. The U shaped curve hypothesis states that the poor who cannot afford it, and the rich who can afford it, gamble more than the middle class. The middle class are supposedly governed by the Protestant work ethic, which requires them to work hard and save their money (Herman 1976).

Tec (1964) and Newman (1972) both proposed that gambling is more frequent among members of the lower status groups. Tec found that the upper portion of the lower class tend to gamble the most because they are quite similar to middle class people, yet are unable to change their position. Newman had similar results in a study conducted in England; he concluded that a large proportion of the adult population (80%) gamble, that men are more likely to gamble than women and that manual wage earners gamble more frequently, and they wager more money than white collar workers.

Herman (1976) also tested the U shaped curve hypothesis, but his data did not support the hypothesis. He found that neighbourhoods of each social rank contributed their fair share to race track patrons.

Weinstein (1974) discovered that participation in gambling by various income groups is roughly equal to their percentage of the total population. Except for the numbers game, which is skewed markedly toward the lower end of the income scale, participation in gambling is remarkably consistent. Since participation in gambling is about equal in all income classes, it would be unfair to conclude that gambling is restricted to a single class as some have asserted. There are more middle income players, but this is to be expected since they make up a higher percentage of the population.

With respect to sports betting, the Fund for the City of New York (1972), a group interested in the numbers game and sports betting, discovered that about five per cent of its sample was made up of heavy bettors ($500 or more bet per year), but this group accounted for about 85% of the total bet on football and 81% of the amount bet on basketball. The heavy bettors came from the upper class of society, those earning over $20,000 per annum. If private bets are excluded from the calculations, then only illegal bets with bookmakers are left. Heavy bettors accounted for about 85% of all money bet illegally. With regard to illegal sports betting, the problem appears to be one of dealing with a relatively small proportion of the general population, as they account for the bulk of this betting.

Downes et al. (1976) conducted one of the few studies to gather information on participation in gambling as it relates to prominent social theories. One of these theories is the Anomie Theory. It is assumed that there is a general agreement in society on goals; therefore, people who have no legitimate access to these goals will employ illegitimate or socially unacceptable means to attain them.

Gambling would be one of these means. The authors also point out that those most well off within the lower class should experience the most frustration and thus gamble more than other members of the lower class. Their data did not support this theory.

One other theory which Downes et al. tested was the Structural-functional Theory. This theory avers that gambling functions as a safety valve, that is, as a release from the tension developed by modern society. Devereux's theory regarding the Protestant middle class would predict that they would be the least involved in gambling, because Protestantism represents the core of resistance to gambling in this society. The data compiled by Downes et al. supported this theory.

In an American study conducted for the Commission on the Review of the National Policy Towards Gambling, two issues were addressed, namely, the prevalence of gambling and the characteristics of those who gambled. Of the adults interviewed, 61% had placed a bet in the last year. Males gambled more than females did and whites more than nonwhites. Most bettors (over half) wagered less than $50 during the year, 20% had bet between $50 - $100 and 14% reported total bets of over $200 annually.

With regard to illegal gambling, blacks and hispanics bet twice as much as all other gamblers, lending support to the notion that minorities are more likely to gamble illegally. Other ethnic groups (Jews and Italians) also reported high incidences of illegal gambling activity. Illegal gambling was most prevalent in the central core of cities, possibly pointing to ethnic groups participation as a result of subcultural norms among group members favoring gambling (Lester 1979).

The study also found that legal and illegal gambling increases in relation to income; the bulk of the bettors had incomes of over

$10,000. These people also claimed that they had some money set aside for future contingencies. This finding contradicts many theories that claim gambling is an activity undertaken to enhance upward mobility. On the contrary, gambling appears to be favoured by those who already have some financial security.

Another variable which affects gambling activity is religious affilliation. In Table I there is a listing of gambling behavior according to religious preference (Kallick et al.) (Appendix II, Page 6).

TABLE I

The Relationship of Religious Preference to Gambling Behavior

	Pct. Who Gamble
Catholic	80
Jews	77
Protestants as a Whole	54
Presbyterians, Lutherans Congregationalists, Episcopalians	74
Methodists	63
Baptists	45
Bible Oriented Sects	33

Catholics and Jews were more likely to engage in gambling than were Protestants; this is a finding that is consistent with Devereux's findings. Kallick et al. (1976) also point out that among Protestant denominations, those with the strongest prohibitions against gambling, gamble the least.

Kallick et al's study is considered to be the most comprehensive ever carried out in the United States. The main conclusions were: (1) gambling is not predominantly a lower class activity, (2) gambling varies with ethnicity and religion, and (3) illegal gamblers gamble to

make money whereas people who gamble legally gamble for excitement. With regard to age, the young and old tend to gamble the least. The greatest percentage of gamblers are between the ages of 25 - 65. This would tend to be expected since these are the wage earning years.

As for the gender of the gambler, women are considerably less likely to gamble than men. When they do bet, women tend to bet more on horseracing, football pools or visit casinos than on dog racing. Females do, however, take part in bingo three times as often as do males. The amounts bet by women are much lower than men, and there are far fewer heavy gamblers and many fewer addicted gamblers than among males.

As the preceding suggests, there is no one theory that explains and predicts who gambles legally. There does, however, seem to be some consistency in the findings related to who gambles illegally.

Attitudes Toward Gambling

Although gambling has existed for thousands of years, one must realize that official public opinion has not always been favorable. George Washington is one famous personage who has spoken out against gambling. He stated that, "Gambling is the child of avarice, the brother of inequity, and the father of mischief" (Rubner 1966, Page 98).

Similar thoughts appear in the writings of other authors of this era, for example:

> Gambling is an enchanting witchery, gotten between idleness and avarice: An itching disease that makes some scratch their heads... It hath this ill property above all other vices, that it renders a man incapable of prosecuting any serious action, and makes him always unsatisfied with his own condition; he is either lifted up to the top of mad joy with success, or plunged to the bottom of despair by misfortune, always in extremes, always in a storm; this minute the gamester's countenance is so serene and calm that one would think nothing could

> disrupt it, and the next minutes, so stormy and tempestuous that it threatens destruction to itself and others; and as he is transported with joy when he wins, so losing, is he lost upon the billows of a high and swelling passion till he hath lost sight both of sense and reason (Cotton 1972).

In more recent times the same attitudes are present. Virgil Peterson, Director of the Chicago Crime Commission stated that...

> Mass gambling has always resulted in great social and economic ills. And almost every civilized nation in the world has from time to time found it necessary to resort to anti-gambling legislation to protect its citizens, that gambling is merely a method where wealth is redistributed from the possession of the many into the hands of the few (Peterson 1951).

As the preceding quotes indicate, public reaction toward gambling has remained negative in most cases. There are, however, some proponents who hold that some forms of gambling are beneficial to the public. Lotteries are one such example. The following is a sample of this thinking:

> Isn't the state lottery the only known form of voluntary taxation? Doesn't it provide a painless, enjoyable means of paying taxes? Isn't it a democratic institution in which every man has an equal chance? Doesn't it build hospitals and clinics - a very valuable safeguard to public health (Lancaster 1937).

Even most religious denominations today have very little formal opposition to gambling. Bell (1960) in a paper on the formal and informal positions of the major religious sects on gambling found only Protestants had a clear position on the morality of gambling. When other religious denominations took a position of gambling, it was restricted to excessive gambling, which they considered wrong because of its potentially harmful social effects.

Those people who enforce the laws against gambling, the police, also have their own perceptions of gambling. Fowler et al. (1974) published

a study on the ratings by police officers of the seriousness of bookmaking compared to the ratings of the seriousness of several other offenses.

A major finding was that the police officers did not consider bookmaking to be as serious as any one of a number of other crimes, including burglary, purse snatching, prostitution and after hour liquor sales. This is not to say that the officers did not see bookmaking as a crime, but that they did view it as a somewhat less serious offense than the others mentioned. Fowler et al. also discovered that the police believe that the public feels the same way as they do. This perception of public opinion held by the police undoubtedly affects their own perceptions of bookmaking. If the police feel the public is not concerned, then there is very little reason for them to become overly concerned with bookmaking.

Although gambling per se is not seen to be a "serious" crime, the enforcement of it is still important to the police. The reason for this is that Fowler et al. (1978) discovered the importance of gambling law enforcement stems from three special characteristics of illegal gambling, these are:

(1) Gambling law enforcement is important because of the perceived link between illegal gambling profits and organized crime.

(2) Gambling law enforcement is important because it affects public confidence in the police.

(3) Gambling law enforcement is important because it has a significant potential to adversely affect the department itself. This is the result of the preceding two causes.

As the preceding statements have demonstrated, attitudes towards

gambling are not in harmony and probably never will be. The next section will focus on one aspect of gambling, that being the bookmaker, who is usually viewed as being a somewhat less than desirable entity in society.

The Bookmaker

The bookmaker has been around as long as there has been gambling. Messick (1976) writes that the bookmaker probably dates back to 4000 B.C. with the beginning of chariot races. Because information from this era is rather sketchy, a great many assumptions have been made by historians about the bookmaking industry in ancient times. Messick reached his conclusion on the assumption that the old argument of which horse was fastest, began immediately; he also assumed that the proud owners were willing to place wagers on the outcome. His third assumption was that as betting became more widespread, the bookmaker made his appearance to offer odds and accept bets from interested bystanders.

The findings of archeologists in ancient Egypt with regard to gambling make it difficult for historians to reason why bookmaking would not have been prevalent. With the first known public horse race staged in Egypt in 1500 B.C., Messick states that there is no logical explanation as to why the bookmaker was not busy figuring odds and accepting bets. From the beginnings one can assume that bookmakers were also present when Athens competed against Sparta or at any number of events throughout history. For as long as man has been willing to wager on the outcome of events, there is the implicit assumption that bookmakers were an integral part of the proceedings.

It was not until the nineteenth century that a major attempt was made to eliminate bookmakers. The involvement of bookmakers was growing rapidly, especially in the sport of horse racing. In 1865 Pierre Ollen invented the pari-mutuel machine. By this time the bookmakers had become so powerful it was they who were running the sport. The bookmakers were giving better odds than the race track. The pari-mutuel machine was invented to allow masses of people to wager as well as eliminate the bookmaker (Messick 1976).

It took them 15 years, but in 1890 the bookmakers were once again powerful enough to force the Kentucky Jockey Club to stop using the machines. This happened because the bookmakers were giving better odds than the tracks, with the result being that people were betting with them more frequently. For the following 18 years, the operations of the bookmakers became a scandal because there was no government control. The bookmakers were allowed to set the odds and payoffs and as a result of this arrangement, fixes were much easier to secure. For example, if too much money was wagered on a horse, the bookmakers would instruct that owner or jockey not to win and pay him off for his co-operation (Messick 1976).

In 1908, as a result of these scandals throughout the United States involving fixes, horse doping and horse switching, the various states began to reform their gambling laws and introduced pari-mutuel machines once again. These devices made it possible for masses of people to make bets on horse races, and since not all people could make it to the track every afternoon the bookmakers found themselves more popular than ever. With the introduction of the pari-mutuels, wagering on horse racing once again became popular. This, however, did not completely stop fixes.

In addition horse doping and horse switching were still prevalent. With the formation in 1942 of the Thoroughbred Racing Association measures were taken to eliminate these practices. All winning horses received urine tests after the race and all horses were tatooed for identification. Instead of wiping out bookmakers, the increased interest in horse racing eventually led people to want to gamble on other events such as baseball and boxing, and the bookmaker was ready to oblige.

During the era between the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 and the Kefauver investigations in 1950 - 51, illegal bookmaking continued to grow along with the growth of horse racing. The uninhibited growth of regional and then national race wire services tended to concentrate action on the horses until the wire services came under careful scrutiny during the early fifties (King 1969). The wire services were set up to provide specialized information for the bookmakers. Customers wanted to know results fast so they could collect their winnings and reinvest the money in the next race. To fill the void gamblers constructed their own wire services, which supplied race results and other pertinent information to the bookmakers (Messick 1976).

The Wirerooms

The cornerstone of a large bookmaking operation is the wireroom where bets are accepted and recorded. At the bottom of a bookmaking operation are the runners who gather bets from customers and call them into the wirerooms (Kornblum, 1976). The runners provide a vital service to the bookmakers by allowing wirerooms to operate efficiently with little security by not having to circulate traceable phone numbers

(Figure 1. depicts the typical structure of a large bookmaking operation) (Kornblum, page 14).

The wirerooms are usually located in out of the way offices or apartments that can be leased for one or two months at a time. They usually operate from 11:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. and again from 6:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M. daily. These times are determined by the starting times of horse races or other sports events (Kornblum 1976). When calling into the wireroom, runners or bettors must use a code before they can place a bet with one of the experienced clerks. The bets are usually transferred during the working day to minimize disruption in case of a raid. Should a raid occur, the bookmakers' policy is to honor all seized bets claimed by customers.

The next echelon of the operation is the figureroom. This level is where the day's net earnings are established and individual bettors and runners are debited or credited. This information is then passed to the wireroom before the next day's betting, so players will know where they stand (Kornblum 1976).

Pace and Styles (1975) have uncovered what they consider to be five distinct bookmaking operations.

(1) The Memory System: This is probably the most difficult handbook to apprehend and prosecute because the bookie takes bets solely from established clientele, commits them to memory and calls the business office only after thirty or more bets. All business is committed to memory until he is called by the business office, or he contacts the phone spot man or an electronic answering service (Figure 2 shows notes made by a bookmaker who does not rely on his memory) (Kornblum page 117).

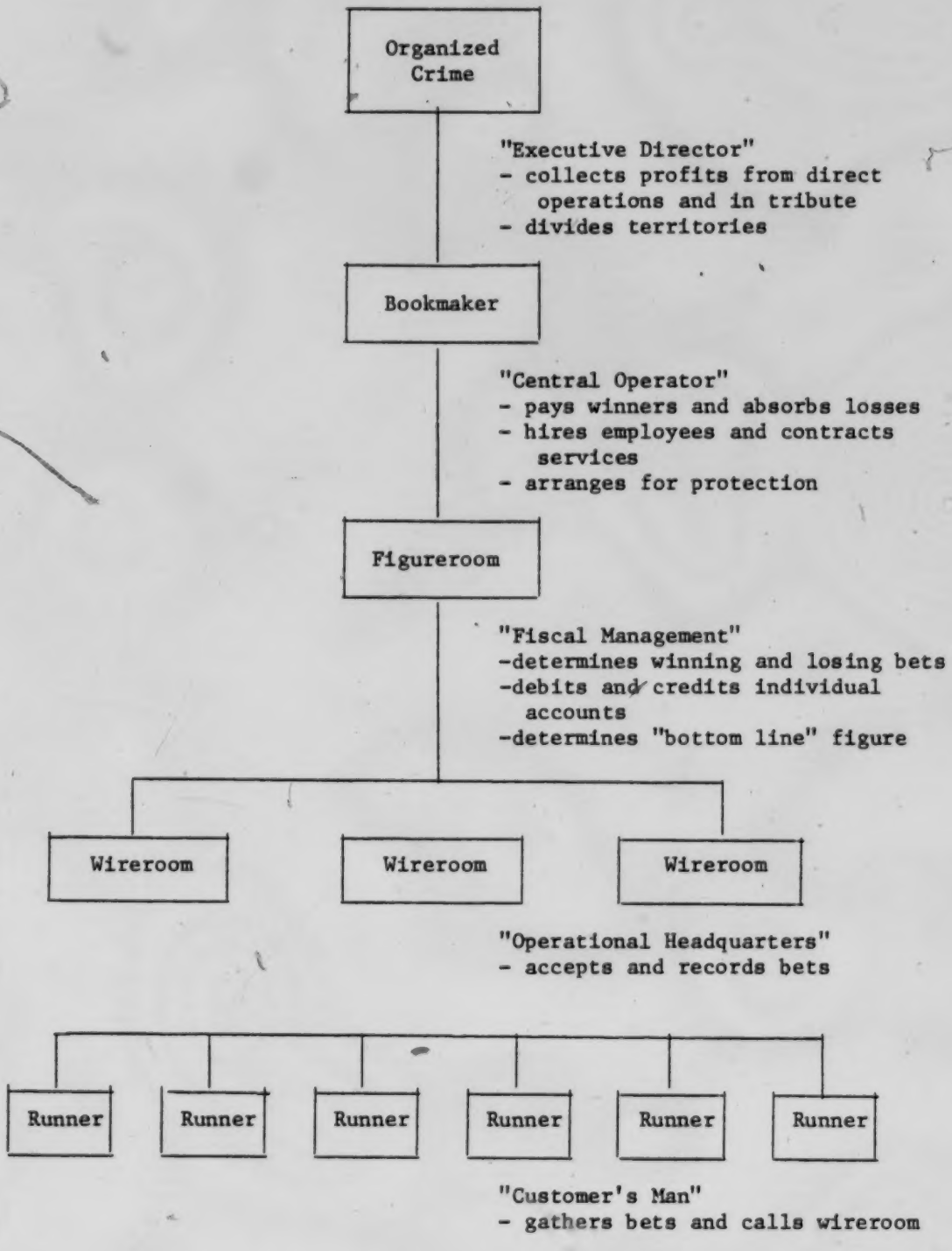


FIGURE 1. Structure of Illegal Bookmaking

	Jack K.
6/SA Goldie	
	XX 2

Interpretation

The bettor
6th race
Santa Anita Race Track
The horse
$2 to show

Hil./4/2		Geo. B.
1	2 XX	
5/1		DO

The bettor
4th race
Hialeah Race Track
2nd post position
If horse wins bet
Parlays to horse in
5th race 1st pole position
$2 to win

HAP				Schizo		
SA6	JK			2	2	
Hil	4/2	2			2	
HP	2/4	2	2	(2)	6	6.80
GG	1/7	10			10	
					20–	6.80
						+13.20

Hap is the agent
Schizo is the bettor

Information from above markers to indicate the track, the race, the horse and the amount wagered

This record shows a total of $20 bet and a payoff of $6.80 or a profit of $13.20

This may be a daily or weekly record

FIGURE 2. Typical betting markers with interpretation and the professional betting marker found at phone, spots and offices to record action. Reprinted from Pace, 1975. The Handbook on Vice, p. 38.

(2) The Employee Bookie: An example would be a person who works in a large office, but who also takes bets on the side. This is also a difficult handbook to apprehend because he comes in contact with the same people daily. He will come to know the sports minded people and through his contacts may operate so covertly his co-worker may not know of his activities. The wins and losses are usually handled on payday.

(3) The Travelling Bar Bookie: This is one of the most common operations. The bookmaker will cover several bars or cafes in a given area. He drops in, picks up his action and moves into the next establishment. This bookmaker is easier to apprehend by the police because often a patron will go in search of the bookmaker, allowing the police to be led directly to the transaction.

(4) The Fixed Spot: The bookmaker must take chances in order to meet the bettors. A spot where a bookmaker can come and socialize with his betting friends is very popular. A popular fixed spot is a newstand on a busy corner. This is a natural because of the constant contacts with people, especially people who do not have time to visit the race track. During the selling of a newspaper it is nearly impossible to detect a betting transaction. A good location that has betting action will often sell for $10,000 to $20,000. This type of fixed spot can usually only survive where corruption exists.

(5) The Fixed "Phone Spots": If a person is well recommended, he may contact a bookmaker and place his bet by telephone. The bookmaker will change telephone numbers from time to time. At predetermined times the bookmaker will send a runner to the bettor to collect for losses or pay the wins. These transactions involve cash only.

The phone spot frequently has the added protection of a black box, or more commonly referred to as a "cheesebox". This is so that the phone spot will have time to destroy the evidence in case of a police raid (Figure 3 depicts a cheesebox security system) (Kornblum page 152).

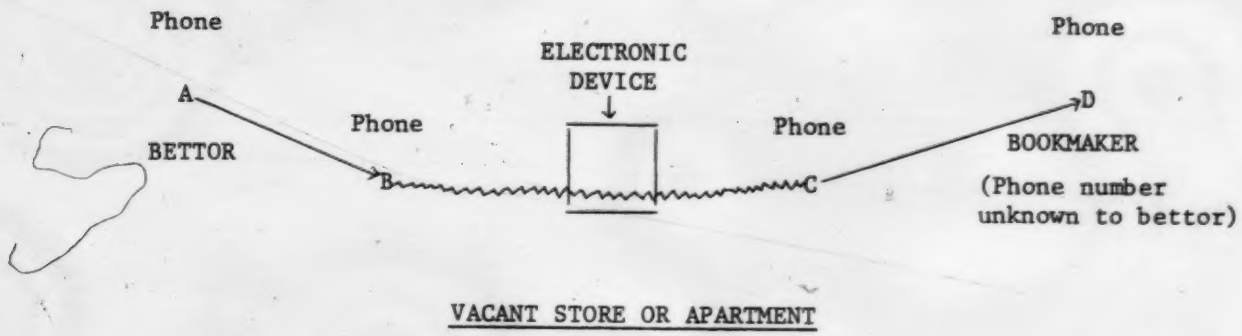
As Herman (1976) and King (1969) both state, the odds are always in the bookmaker's favor. The bookmakers make a profit because they have an edge on every bet. They pay track odds, but usually not in excess of twenty to one. They can spread their operation not just to bets on the races at one track, but to a great diversity of sporting events all over the continent.

The small bookmaker, if he is skillful in watching his position as the bets come in, can keep his booking balance by making layoff bets with larger bookmakers or with a handful of well known operators who devote large capital to being "bookies" bookies.

The Bookmakers Odds

Canes (1976) in a study on the pro football betting market discovered that the amount wagered on a single contest is similar for all sports. The odds paid vary with the size of the bet and the competition among bookmakers in a particular area. Where competition is extensive, the usual terms are 11 to 10 odds and return of all money if a game outcome

HOW BOOKMAKERS AVOID DETECTION WITH ELECTRONICS



VACANT STORE OR APARTMENT

FIGURE 3. Exhibit B. A Cheesebox Security System.

equals the spread (called a push). Thus bettors must put up 11 dollars to make 10, the bookmaker receiving approximately 5 per cent of the total betting turnover. This percentage is referred to as vigorish by the bookmaker. For a bettor to make money at these odds he must win approximately 53 per cent of his bets.

The opening line for the games each week is decided in Las Vegas by the professional gamblers (Canes 1976). This line is set so as to entice equal amounts of money being placed on each team. This line may change throughout the week and late in the week the final line termed the closing line is published. However, not every bookmaker offers the exact Las Vegas line to his customers (Merchant 1973). This is presumably because there is a variation in bookmakers' beliefs about money equalizing point spreads.

The Feasibility of Legalized Bookmaking

Sturgeon (1974) discussed the possibility of legalized gambling with bookmakers and they arrived at the following conclusions as to what was needed for the government to receive the bookmakers' support for legalization.

(1) They were all willing to purchase a five hundred dollar gambling stamp. This is a stamp which would allow the bookmaker to take bets without fear of harassment.

(2) They would like to substitute the 2 per cent Federal tax with a license fee, which would run from one thousand to thirty-five hundred dollars per month, depending on the dollar volume of their respective operations.

(3) They would pay taxes on their profits in the same manner as do all other United States businesses and corporations.

(4) They would work with the Federal government or State governments in designing a workable and realistic betting program.

(5) They would co-operate with all law enforcement agencies in establishing and enforcing rules to govern the day to day operations of the gambling business.

The bookmaker cannot afford the 2 per cent gambling tax the government wants to place on him.

As Merchant (1974) and Currens (1977) pointed out, with the present system the legal games can never compete with the illegal games. The following are the advantages they cited:

(1) No taxation. The illegal player gets his winnings free instead of paying 30 to 40 per cent in taxes.

(2) Credit. An illegal bookmaker will give credit while the government requires cash up front.

(3) Neighbourhood Game. The illegal game is a social outlet to members of the community and they resent outside interference.

The bookmaker, though illegal everywhere in North America except for Nevada, appears to be operating at a tremendous profit in spite of the law enforcement attempts to decrease his business. The estimates of the total take by bookmakers range from 50 billion by Scarne (1967) to a minimum of 10 billion by King (1969). Estimates have even run as high as 100 billion by Merchant in 1974. Whatever the correct amount,

the bookmaking industry is an extremely large business.

Scandals

One of the major worries of sport administrators is the possibility of a scandal, in the form of fixing a game or games for profit. This could involve players, coaches, referees, or anyone involved with the teams. Throughout the years there have been a number of documented accounts of fixes in sport, which have damaged sport in the public eye. These fixes have usually involved bookmakers.

Perhaps the best known scandal involved the Chicago White Sox baseball team in 1919 (Asinof 1963). The White Sox were heavily favored to win the World Series over a young Cincinnati Reds' team. The team was a very unhappy team, however, because of the low salaries they were receiving. When the bookmakers set the odds at 4-1, the Chicago players immediately saw the chance of making big money. The players approached one of New England's biggest gamblers and set the price at $10,000 per man. The "White" Sox eventually did throw the series despite spectacular efforts by those players not involved. When word of a possible fix got out, an investigation ensued and eventually eight players were indicted. Out of this fix grew an old adage: "Don't bet on anything that can talk" (Messick 1976).

In 1970 Denny McLain, a pitcher with the Detroit Tigers, faced accusations stating that during the 1967 season he had not only been associated with gamblers, but had been a partner in a bookmaking set-up. This accusation was fueled by an important game McLain pitched poorly in, and his team lost badly. As a result of this game and a further investigation by the Commissioner of Baseball, Bowie Kuhn, McLain was suspended for half a season.

Football has also had its share of scandals. In 1963, Alex Karras of the Detroit Lions, who was a part owner in a bar, was associated with gamblers and bookmakers. When this became known to the press, Karras came forward and publicly stated that he had bet on games, some involving his own team. What wasn't known at the time was the bet usually consisted of a pack of cigarettes, not some fantastic sum of money. As a result of this involvement, Pete Rozelle, Commissioner of the NFL, suspended Karras for one year (Slack 1975). Paul Hornung was also suspended in the same year for similar behavior. The suspensions were to demonstrate the integrity of the NFL to the public. Under no circumstances would gambling on football games by players be tolerated for fear the public may feel a game or games have been fixed. Mr. Rozelle has often spoken out against gambling on sport for fear of damage to the sport in the public eye (Commission on the Review of National Policy Toward Gambling, 1975) (Currens 1977).

The college basketball scene has also been plagued with scandal. The sport is ready made for fixes. It is played nation wide and it takes very little effort to miss a shot or cause a foul. Another advantage is that bookmakers put out a point spread on the major games. This system allows players to shave a few points to affect the point spread without intentionally losing the game. In 1949-50, City College of New York became the first and only team to win both the NIT and NCAA tournaments in the same season. The school's success was brought to a shocking halt in 1951 when several members of its team were arrested for fixing the scores of basketball games. The players had been receiving payments to beat the point spreads in certain games. By the time the grand jury was dismissed, thirty-two players were implicated from 1947 to 1950 (Cohen

1977). What had begun as a New York City scandal, spread to colleges in other parts of the country. In total, games had been fixed in at least twenty-three cities in seventeen states. This was just the tip of the iceberg. Since New York was the only city to conduct an investigation, one does not know what was left uncovered.

Perhaps the most widely reported of the basketball scandals involved Connie Hawkins and Jack Molinas. Hawkins was a poorly educated black man who was very easily influenced. As a result of his naivety, Jack Molinas viewed Hawkins as an easy target to fix games. Although the fixing of basketball games was proven, Connie Hawkins was wrongly accused of being involved in the fixing. When the scandal broke, he was an immature eighteen year old who admitted guilt, feeling it was the only way he would be allowed to go home. It was eight years before his innocence was proven. However, there were forty-seven players and forty-three known games implicated in this scandal. Twenty-seven schools were also involved. The most recent basketball scandal involved the Boston College team in 1978. This story was released by Sports Illustrated (February 1981) and told how three players supposedly were involved in beating the bookmakers' point spreads. Only one of the players has been found guilty as of this writing and he received a ten year jail sentence.

There have been fixes in nearly all sports, the most visible being boxing, horse racing, Jai Alai, and soccer (European) (Michener 1976). It appears that scandals are going to occur, but with the increased scandals in Europe since bookmaking became legal, legalized gambling appears to enhance, not decrease the chance of a scandal (Rozelle 1976).

The research on gambling has tended not to focus on the bookmaker yet he is an integral part of the entire gambling scheme. This study attempts to remedy this oversight by providing an in-depth profile of

the bookmaker for the purpose of understanding how his role affects the sport social system and society as a whole.

III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter presents a description of the communities in which this study was carried out. Also included is the sampling method, a description of the research instrument, and an outline of the data analysis.

The Sample

The study was conducted in the Edmonton and Calgary metropolitan areas. These two cities were chosen as a matter of convenience, but also because they are heavy gambling centres. Taken together these cities contain over a million people. From these two areas the author sought to find a number of known bookmakers who had been or were currently in the business as a full-time occupation.

It was assumed that when criminal elements are involved that there could be a great deal of difficulty in obtaining a sample; however, as Polsky (1969) has stated, there is one method that inevitably works:

> In my experience the most feasible technique for building one's sample is snowballing: get an introduction to one criminal who will vouch for you with others, who in turn will vouch for you with still others (p. 127).

The author was very fortunate to be introduced by an acquaintance to one of the most respected bookmakers in the province. In broaching the topic of bookmakers with the acquaintance, the author was very straightforward by coming out and stating what he was looking for. This approach worked in this study, but it may not be appropriate in all cases. This made the process of locating other bookmakers relatively

easy. Also, once the word got around concerning the general nature of the study, a number of friends and family members suggested someone they knew in the bookmaking business.

The straightforward approach was used in all initial contacts with bookmakers. There were some bookmakers who refused to talk to the author but this was more the exception than the rule. The three bookmakers who refused to be interviewed were all race track bookmakers. They appeared to have a much more apprehensive attitude when it came to the discussion of their business. This lack of access to all types of bookmakers limited the study somewhat.

The original contact made arrangements with other bookmakers to meet with myself. The places of meeting were usually at the bookmakers' centre of business, usually a lounge. The first meeting was usually conducted with both bookmakers present, but follow-up sessions were usually alone. With the two bookmakers present the straightforward approach was the easiest. The conversation after introductions began with the author stating the purpose of the study and asking whether the bookmaker was willing to co-operate. It was understood that all bookmakers would receive anonymity.

The Research Instrument

The test instrument was a questionnaire which was derived from the author's interest in this previously unexplored area of sport sociology. Although a formal questionnaire was developed, the sessions with the bookmakers were very informal. The questionnaire contained both open ended and closed questions. These questions were presented in no strict order because the bookmakers often got off on a tangent whereby they answered questions before they were asked.

The purpose of using a questionnaire was so the author could establish some uniformity in questions he wanted answered. This is one of the reasons a questionnaire is often used in the social sciences. A major weakness of a questionnaire is that if followed exactly, it may not allow the respondent to freely elaborate or expand on an answer. This difficulty, however, did not arise in this study due to the informal questioning technique.

> Although you cannot help but contaminate the criminal's environment to some degree by your presence, such contamination can be minimized if, for one thing, you use no gadgets (no tape recorders, questionnaire forms) and, for another do not take notes in the criminal's presence. (Polsky 1969, p. 121).

The interview questions were designed to obtain a profile of the bookmakers. This meant questions regarding his family life, business life, his relationships with his colleagues and questions about his relationships with the law. The questionnaire was used to gather as much information about the bookmaker's life as he would divulge.

Because of the rather casual nature of the format, there was no strict time limit set for the meetings. Each meeting lasted as long as was convenient for the parties involved and the meetings were never ended, just postponed to another time and place, as was recommended by Polsky (1969). A minimum of two, 2-hour sessions were eventually spent with each bookmaker.

Participant Observation

The purpose of a participant observation study is to allow the researcher to study first hand the workings of a particular group and thus predict or explain the workings of similar groups. The researcher

attempts to attain membership within the group and attempts to share the attributes of that particular group. The resultant is a feeling for the group which allows the researcher to explain and interpret the experience of the group.

There are usually two varieties of participant observation, depending on how concealed the researcher wants to be within the group. As a total participant the researcher wants to become a legitimate member of the group, completely hiding his or her real purpose for membership within the group. The major benefit of this method is the attainment of some knowledge that may have been otherwise unobtainable. Beyond the ethical arguments against this method of research, there are also some limitations. One of these is the difficulty in recording events and comments as they happened without giving away one's identity. This is a greater problem when dealing with criminal groups because, as Polsky (1969) stated previously, recording information during the meeting with a criminal is not recommended. It is also difficult to probe for further information without giving away your identity.

The second method is one which counters some of the preceding limitations and is where the participant is an observer known to the group. A limitation of this method is finding reliable confidants who understand the workings of the group. This can, however, limit your study because of the dependency of individual interpretations of group procedures.

As an observer, I was known to the group. It appeared that my presence had little, if any, effect on the manner in which business transactions were carried out. Once my purpose was known, the meetings carried on without incident and I was often involved in some of the small talk which occurred before and after the wagers were placed.

Test Methods and Procedures

One of the major obstacles the author anticipated was that the respondents would not divulge enough information to provide a complete profile of the bookmaker. This proved not to be a problem as the bookmakers on the whole were more than willing to answer questions. Prior to the actual session some general introductory remarks were given as to the purpose of the study and a guarantee of anonymity was always expressed to the bookmakers. The author communicated the fact he was a graduate student wanting to learn about the bookmaker and how the business works. Even though a list of questions had been prepared, very seldom were the same sequence of questions ever presented to each bookmaker. Questions were only directed to the bookmaker when it was felt that a greater clarification of a point was required. This method contradicts Babbie (1979), who feels that questions should always be worded the same and responses recorded exactly in survey research. Since this research was a joint field study and survey research, Polsky's (1969) method of doing more listening than talking was used.

As previously stated, no recording instruments of any kind were taken to the meetings by the author; therefore, it became imperative that the author sit down immediately after the session and record what had been stated in the meeting. This is one of the reasons why a second and sometimes a third meeting was required to clarify some points. During the meetings the author also attempted to get corroboration on statements from other bookmakers by leading the discussions in that way.

Analysis of Data

Because this was primarily a descriptive study, no statistical

analysis will be performed on the data. What was attempted was to discover similarities and dissimilarities amongst the bookmakers so as to present a consumate profile of the bookmaker and his role. The participant observation is presented as noted by the author to give greater knowledge and to authenticate findings from previous studies. The following are the categories for analysis:

(1) Socialization of the Bookmaker

(2) The Bookmaker's daily routine

(3) The Bookmaker's clientele

(4) The Bookmaker's colleagues

(5) The Bookmaker and the Law

(6) Problems of the Bookmaker -

  (a) clients who don't pay

  (b) lay-offs

  (c) setting and adjusting the line

(7) The Bookmaker's family life

Data pertaining to each of these categories from each bookmaker will be combined and similarities and differences will be presented, as well as any unique circumstances. There is a certain repetition of data due to the fact some data is relevant in more than one category.

There are certain methodological procedures that also require explanation in this section. The following were employed.

(1) Daily Log:

A daily log of events and interviews was maintained for each day the researcher was involved with the bookmaker (Appendix A).

(2) Informal Interviews:

Discussions with bookmakers were recorded whenever possible.

The recordings of this data always took place after the actual interview, as was recommended earlier. The same method was followed in discussions with the police.

(3) Systematic Observations:

Repeated observations were made of any recurring events the bookmaker took part in. It was not uncommon to spend three or four hours twice a week at some location where bookmakers congregated.

Limitations of the Study

(1) The bookmakers in Edmonton and Calgary may not be a representative sample of bookmakers in Canada or North America.

(2) Some questions in the questionnaire are open ended questions. The intrepretation of the responses was done by the author to allow for categorization of dominant responses.

(3) Due to the legal factors involved with the individuals being studied, the author chose not to assume the role of the bookmaker.

(4) The author was not allowed to spend more than an hour to two at a time with one single bookmaker for fear by the bookmaker of possible interjection by the police.

(5) The author only interviewed sport bookmakers and not race track bookmakers, as race track bookmakers refused to cooperate in the study.

Delimitations of the Study

The study was delimited to an analysis of the bookmakers in Edmonton and Calgary, Alberta. Both of these cities would be considered major

gambling centres as a result of the various professional teams in each location. Each has a number of professional sports teams; e.g. football, hockey, soccer, as well through cable television there is extensive coverage of professional sports south of the border. All these outlets provide a solid base from which the bookmaker can work.

IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Socialization of a Bookmaker

The bookmakers in this study came from what might be classified as a deprived or underprivileged background. This concurs with what Polsky (1969) discovered, namely that the majority of social deviants originate from lower class upbringings. The majority were products of lower class families and areas, often living in lower class housing as a result of the meagre salaries their parents made as blue collar workers. Some bookmakers also came from homes where their only source of financial assistance was welfare. Eight out of ten respondents came from families with six or more children. This large family background, coupled with a low socio-economic status, proved to be a great burden on the parents. As a result of these circumstances, the bookmakers generally felt that their parents could not be preoccupied with the whereabouts of each child. Often a parent would have to work at two jobs and the children were required to fend for themselves. With little parental supervision the children became involved in many unsavory activities, one of which was bookmaking.

Another very noticeable characteristic of the bookmaker was their ethnic background. None of the bookmakers in the study were native born Canadians. This is not surprising, however, as the lower income groups are usually made up of persons from other countries. As Lester (1979) states with regards to illegal gambling, Blacks, Hispanics and Italians all have high incidences of involvement in illegal gambling. If the actual nationality was not directly discernible, the nickname of the

bookmaker often provided a clue. Names such as "Portuguese Joe" and "Polish Bob" are just two that provide the national background of the bookmaker.

As a result of the disadvantaged home life, most bookmakers never finished high school. There was never anyone at home to check up on their schoolwork and the desire to make a buck was always present. This desire to make money led them into the bookmaking business. On first appearance it seems like an easy job. You protect yourself with equal bets and are therefore sure to come out ahead as the result of the "vigorish".

"Lovable" is one bookie who began making book at the age of 16:

> The money appeared easy enough so I set up an off track betting system in my school cafeteria.

Another bookmaker started at the race track:

> At the time it cost 50¢ to get in and it was a $1.00 minimum bet. People who could not afford the entrance fee would stand outside the wire gate watching. I just began by taking 50¢ bets from those outside the fence at set odds. It provided me with a job and the people who could not afford to go inside to bet, the chance to wager.

One of the major drawbacks of being a bookmaker, however, is the lack of a family life. Very few women can put up with the possibility of their husbands losing all their family funds, as well as the irregular hours they must keep. Those who do eventually get married, find that the occupational insecurity and the long hours, usually result in divorce. Divorce is often much easier for a bookmaker to cope with than to give up bookmaking. He is not trained to do anything else and thus finds life somewhat difficult. Another difficulty is that most bookmakers have very few fond memories of their parents' married

life. Their parents were usually out working most of the time just to put food on the table.

Probably the major reason for the lack of a family life among bookmakers is very simple. Their business has been number one in their life for so long that nothing can replace it and very few women can accept being second best. For as long as most bookmakers can remember, their life has revolved around sports, gambling and making book. It is too late to change.

This is not to say that bookmakers have no relationships with the opposite sex. They claim to be heterosexual, but their relationships tend to be casual in nature, usually with females they may happen to meet in a lounge where they are doing business. But for the aforementioned reasons these relationships are very seldom long term.

Colleagueship

Colleagueship among bookmakers is typical of colleagueship in many occupations and atypical in others. The major way in which bookmaking is atypical is with regard to entry and expulsion from the occupation.

In the majority of occupations one can be denied entry by both formal means (deny him a license, training, tools or membership) or informal means (ostracization or by refusing to work with him). Bookmaking, however, does not require any elements that can be controlled effectively by colleagues. There is no formal entrance requirements such as an examination, as in becoming a lawyer. No form of documentation is needed to become a bookmaker. Anyone who wishes to take the risk that goes with the territority can become a bookmaker. All training is on the job training and the tools of the trade (money,

sports, clients) are available to anyone. One does not need an expensive office; business can be conducted anywhere and as for a market, the research shows there is more than enough people in the city who like to gamble.

The espirit de corps within the bookmaking group is often lacking due to the nature of the group. There is not a great deal of contact and reliance on one another. The need for contact with one another is somewhat limited by the way business is carried out. In contradiction to Polsky (1969) I found bookmakers very cordial to outsiders.

To enjoy colleagueship means to be accepted by others in the business. It does not, however, mean that to be denied colleagueship means to be denied work. If a bookmaker is denied acceptance by other bookmakers, it can rule out laying off and other forms of co-operation, but it has no major effect on his main job, that of taking bets from people. He does, however, have to watch the distribution of bets he takes more closely than a bookmaker who has friends who are bookmakers, because he will have greater difficulty in laying off wagers.

As in most occupations, there is an established hierarchy. At the bottom of the hierarchy are those who call themselves bookmakers, but who do not engage in it as a full time occupation. These people are never referred to as bookmakers by many of their so called colleagues. As one bluntly put it:

> How can that BLEEP call himself a bookmaker when he only does it part-time.

This is one of the few situations where outright rejection by bookmakers may occur. The only other reason stated for rejection was personality conflicts. If a bookmaker by his actions causes grief to his associates, he is usually rejected by other bookmakers.

To move up the hierarchy, honesty and time are the most important factors. These two factors also result in monetary rewards which allows for a bookmaker to become better known. As a bookmaker spends more and more time in the business, he develops a steady clientele and this eventually leads to more clients with the result that more cash flows in. As his reputation grows, other lesser known bookmakers turn to him to layoff. Before the breakup of the wires in the fifties, a bookmaker often had layoff bets from all over the country if he had a good reputation. As one bookmaker put it:

> In the 30's and 40's there was a layoff system all across the country in every major city. You could always find someone to layoff with no matter what the size of the bet was.

This is no the case anymore since the police crackdown on the telephones, which will be referred to later. Now a bookmaker usually has only one or two other bookmakers he can layoff with if necessary.

Most bookmakers specialize somewhat in the sports they cover and thus the colleagues they know best are usually always involved in the same sport. This was not always the case. As Messick (1976) discovered the attempts in 1942 to stop the fixing of races resulted in an increased interest in wagering on a variety of sports, usually resulting in bookmakers having to choose the sports they wished to take wagers on. The most common split among the bookmakers is with those who take bets on horse racing, and those who deal with other sports. This does not mean to say that a client can only bet on his bookmaker's specialty. As mentioned in the literature, a bookmaker will take a bet on almost anything reasonable, and if he won't, he can usually find an associate with whom to lay the bet off with, so as not to discourage the client. Even though they tend to know colleagues who are involved with the same

sports, they know of and where to contact bookmakers with other specialties. This fact was discovered when the author was introduced to other bookmakers by one who took wagers on totally different events than they did.

As mentioned earlier, one of the key reasons a bookmaker needs a solid relationship with other bookmakers is for laying off. One must not, however, be led into believing this is a common practice among bookmakers. Any bookmaker who takes bets split 50/50 is going to make little money. His take will only amount to the total vigorish he claims. As a result of this, most bookmakers using their expertise try to obtain bets heavier on one side than the other. This expertise, gained from experience and knowing people within the various sports, allows the bookmaker to make calculated risks in order to earn more money. He must, of course, have funds at his disposal in the event of heavy losses which can occur. Someone new in the business would not have the knowledge, contacts, or most likely financial security to take such risks. This situation will only develop over time but it is crucial if the bookmaker is to eventually make large sums of money.

The process of laying off would occur if an injury to an important player changed the odds drastically against the bookmaker. In this instance he would try to layoff with a bookmaker in the opposite position. A bookmaker may also layoff so as not to discourage a client to wager, but the action itself is not a common one.

Clientele

Who are these men that place bets with a bookmaker? The word 'men' is used for a reason. Research by scholars such as Kallick (1976) and

Newman (1972) show that women would generally not wager with bookmakers. They much prefer to wager smaller amounts than those which would be required to wager with a bookmaker. This is fine with bookmakers as most of them refuse to take wagers from females anyway. This is because in many instances women have difficulties in paying off their debts because of fear their husbands may find out. It seems to be easier for a man to place a fifty dollar bet and explain its whereabouts to his wife than vice versa. This phenomena may change with more and more women in the work force.

If you are walking downtown and pass a well dressed executive, he may be one of the many people who deals with a bookmaker. Because the minimum bet one can wager with a bookmaker in Edmonton is fifty dollars, a bookmaker needs and expects relatively steady business. One must be quite well off to be able to indulge in this activity on a regular basis. As a result, the clients of bookmakers are usually executives or professionals. As the Fund for the City of New York (1972) discovered, 85% of all illegal bets come from those in the upper class of society. Their arbitrary cut off point was earning $20,000 which would appear somewhat small by today's standards. However, when the study was conducted in 1972 it was a substantial sum of money.

The relationship between bookie and client more often than not becomes very friendly. Each party is doing the other a service that they either need for existence (the bookmaker) or want for enjoyment and excitement. There are a variety of theories on why people gamble, but the reason most bookies felt their clients gambled was for enjoyment. As Herman (1976) suggests, gambling for the wealthy is a reinforcement of their socio-economic status. They gamble for fun; it is a diversion

they can afford. Since this was not a study of the bookmakers' clients, their is no attempt to validate the why people gamble theories. Herman's (1976) work is cited here because the bookmakers themselves mentioned this motivation to gamble most frequently.

As the relationship prospers and trust develops, a client is sometimes given the use of credit. Early in the relationship if the client does not have the cash, he cannot bet. But as the client becomes better known to the bookmaker, he may be allowed to run up a tab, similar to they way you might in a bar or restaurant.

The credit limit depends on the amount the bettor usually wagers. If the bettor is basically a fifty to one hundred dollar a week wagerer, his credit will not be anywhere near that of someone who continually wagers five hundred to a thousand dollars a week. The credit line may be one hundred dollars for one person and thousands for another.

A person who wants to begin betting with a bookmaker cannot just walk up to one, if he happens to find one, and place a bet. Each person must receive an in, usually in the form of an introduction by a friend who is a close friend of the bookmaker or already one of his clients. The most obvious reason for this practice is the fear of undercover police trying to make a bust. The other reason is that bookmakers want to have as few problems with their clients as possible. They do not want to have to worry about being paid. Once introduced to a bookmaker, a client does not immediately start making bets. The bookmaker checks out the client in many ways, similar to a business checking out your credit rating at the bank. The bookmaker will discuss the client with his friend, find out what type of job he has, for how long and anything else which may show this potential client to be a bad risk.

When this process is complete, the client will be contacted and allowed to place wagers with the bookmaker. These wagers are also controlled by the bookmaker at first, usually at the minimum level for insurance reasons. As one of these bookmakers put it:

> If I allow a client to wager five thousand dollars and I am supposed to pick it up the next day, if I am covering my bets with that money and he skips out on me that money has to come out of my pocket if he was to lose, for me to pay my other clients.

The foregoing is also another reason why credit extended from client to client varies according to their average wager.

It is obvious that most clients enjoy sports, but clients do have their favorite sports. Of the twenty to thirty clients a bookmaker may have, the majority of them bet most of their money on NFL football first and hockey second. The reason NFL football is so popular is because of the coverage it receives in the media and the number of games they play. The parity within the league also makes it a challenge to pick the winners. There is one major exception to this trend and that is with Chinese bettors, whom tend to favor CFL football, a phenomenon the bookmakers could not explain.

As the preceding comments demonstrate, the primary criteria for becoming a client of a bookmaker is money and reliability. This makes it very difficult to stereotype the bookmaker's clients, which also makes it difficult for police to identify a client and thus trace him back to the bookmaker.

His Nicknames

One of the noteworthy aspects of the bookmakers argot is the use of nicknames. Over half of the bookmakers interviewed had nicknames which

they used on a regular basis. Some of the bookmakers acquired their nicknames before they began their bookmaking careers. This was especially true if the nickname referred to a physical characteristic of the bookmaker. There are, however, a good majority whom acquire their names after they become bookmakers.

The following are some of the nicknames of bookmakers who are currently working in the Edmonton and Calgary areas: Lovable, Portuguese Joe, Yugoslav Bob, Short Eddy, Prince, R.B. and Lefty.

On first inspection, one would assume this part of the business argot was used for the purpose of disguise. This was proven totally false. Everyone whom the bookmaker talks to usually refers to him by his nickname. They are proud of their nicknames and on introduction often use it. My first encounter with a bookmaker went something like this:

Myself: "Hello, I'm Brent Patterson."
Bookmaker: "They call me Lovable."

Very few bookmakers use their real names because they prefer to be referred to by their nicknames.

Although the chief use of nicknames by bookmakers appears to be for espirit de corps, there are other reasons. They appear to be the same as the reasons expressed by Polsky (1969) in his book Hustlers, Beats and Others.

(1) Bookmakers are more often than not from the lower class, which makes use of nicknames more frequently than any other class.

(2) The bookmakers overlap other criminal circles, which also have high monicker rates.

(3) The use of nicknames is part of a long standing tradition in this milieu.

(4) The nicknames may reflect a certain male pattern of bonding. The world of the bookmaker is exclusively male.

The Bookmaker and the Law

Considering that the business the bookmaker is involved in is illegal in Canada, the attitude of the law enforcement personnel is somewhat surprising. As Fowler (1978) discovered in his research, the police do not feel the public views bookmaking as a serious crime. The author also found the same attitude prevalent among the police forces in Edmonton and Calgary. This is not to say that they condone bookmakers and their business, but that they view other crimes much more seriously and thus direct a greater amount of time and attention to those crimes.

During the data collection phase of the study, a recurring question arose as to why the police take this attitude? The author found it exceedingly easy to make contact with bookmakers and observe business transactions. With the equipment and contacts the police have at their disposal, it would appear at first glance to be very easy to limit bookmakers' business. When one looks deeper into the situation, however, it becomes apparent why this action is not taken by the police.

For example, a bystander's suspicions are not aroused if two people seated at another booth exchange money. And as the police put it, even if we know that the person receiving the money is a bookmaker, unless he is apprehended with evidence on him such as a note sheet of the bets, a conviction is impossible. This is made doubly difficult by the fact that a good bookmaker does not write his bets down but commits them to memory.

There is one surveillance method that the police do use consistently, but its effects are limited. This is tapping phones. Nowadays, a book-

maker does not use the cheesebox system, mentioned previously; as a matter of fact he does not use telephones at all if possible, or note pads, because he knows this is really the only way he could be apprehended. In a few instances this method can lead to an arrest. The following is an example of how a bookmaker was caught while using the phone:

> The bookmaker A wanted to talk to a client about a bet because he had not seen him that day and was quite sure his client wanted to place a wager. To avoid the risk of his phone being tapped, he walked down to the corner to use the pay phone. The police meanwhile had tapped his client's phone. Being unaware of this, he carried out the transaction over the phone and was subsequently arrested by the police. His sentence - a year in jail or $10,000. The $10,000 was a stiff penalty, but it was less burdensome than a jail sentence.

This is one of the few instances uncovered in this study where a bookmaker was caught outright. The penalty, although stiff, was cheaper in the long run than a prison term. If apprehended again, however, the sentence would be much harsher.

In many ways the approach the police take to bookmaking is similar in appearance to the one they take with other vices like prostitution. If there is public reaction to either crime, an effort is made to squelch the noise by making some arrests. To remove bookmaking totally would be impossible, but if a bookmaker is making too much noise the police will do their best to find some grounds for arrest.

The police know who the bookmakers are, but can do little to control them because of the difficulty in gaining enough evidence for a conviction.

Problems in Being a Bookmaker

Bookmakers like all businesmen have difficulties they have to deal with within the business. The most obvious and major difficulty the bookmaker must face is the law. Since the occupation is illegal, an

arrest and a conviction can be very costly in terms of money and image. This may not only arise as a monetary loss or jail term, as discussed previously, but it may also affect future endeavors. It is difficult for any person with a criminal record to obtain a solid work opportunity. This risk arises with many other criminal elements, but for all intents and purposes when a bookmaker chooses this profession, he chooses it for life or until financial security is reach, which is not uncommon among bookmakers.

A bookmaker also faces many snags in running his daily business operations. Problems with overdue payments, layoffs and setting the line arise constantly. The problem of overdue accounts is one that the bookmaker tries to avoid wherever possible by thoroughly checking out a person well in advance before taking him on as a client. Despite this precaution, the problem still exists. The scenario aften presented in the communication media is that this person will be found at the bottom of the river with cement shoes on. This has happened, as a couple of bookmakers verified, but it is much more the exception than the rule.

"I heard one guy was put away for $1,000 debt."

Another qualification of this and the following technique of dealing with these clients is that it is usually activated by the Mafia in the United States. All bookmakers interviewed in Edmonton and Calgary firmly denied any Mafia connections. The other method propagated by the media is that of "rubbing out" or "rearranging one's face". This again is much more the exception than the rule. To avoid this problem, a bookmaker working on his own must check out his clients very well because he has no financial backing if he does not collect from a client. The Mafia can eliminate a client and still know the money for

payoffs will be available. It also serves as a reminder to anyone else thinking of welching on their gambling debts. In Alberta, if the bookmaker chooses to eliminate a client he has no possible way of collecting the money and, therefore, must pay from his own pocket. He would also risk the possibility of a murder or assault charge being laid. The Mafia lessen this risk because they hire or contract professionals for this purpose. The bookmaker must accept this as one of the hazards of the business. One thing for sure, if the client does not have an exceptional reason for not paying, his chances of finding another bookmaker would be slim, as word would get around quickly on him being a poor risk.

Laying off bets is another business matter a bookmaker must contend with. In this case, the longer and thus usually the older the bookmaker is, the easier it is for him to lay off bets. When the wire services were in operation, it was very easy for a bookmaker to get on the phone and lay off anywhere in the country. Nowadays a bookmaker must rely on his friends to take bets from him in the case of heavy betting on one team. A new bookmaker in the business finds this difficult to do and therefore, must watch his bets much more carefully, a practice that can cost him a great deal of money. What a bookmaker in Edmonton will do if he gets too much money wagered on one team, which is usually the case if the home team is playing, is to contact a bookmaker in the opponent's city. Due to the support given by a city to their home team, he can usually lay off in that city and in some instances take layoff bets himself. If the home team is not playing, he can usually lay off with colleagues in the same city.

Setting and adjusting the line is the bookmakers life line. A

mistake here can cost a great deal of money. All bookmakers interviewed knew of at least one number they could call to get the line on a sports event, and many knew three numbers. With the heaviest action coming on NFL football, the setting of the line is helped by the fact the newspapers now print the point spreads for the upcoming games, as well as listing the injuries. Up until this year, Las Vegas did not have a line on the CFL (Canadian Football League) so this became the bookmaker's job. This is where the bookmaker's friends within the sporting fraternity could help him. Knowing about even one player's injury and whether or not he will play can help the bookmaker tremendously in setting the line. To his client it may even appear too good to be true. One must also be aware that the bookmaker does not have to use the Las Vegas line, although in most cases it would be foolish not to. The use of the Las Vegas line as Merchant (1973) states depends on the bookies belief about money equalizing point spreads. This is because the bookmakers in Las Vegas are paid well to research the games before setting the line and their job relies on their accuracy.

As the preceding demonstrates, the bookmaker's business is not just cut and dried, he needs a variety of skills to ensure the smooth running of his business. First, a bookmaker needs to be a good accountant. The numerous figures involved in his business, wagers and lines, require he have some mathematical ability. If he has a good memory, it is also beneficial. By keeping all the various figures in his head, he eliminates evidence that could be used against himself if apprehended by the law. The bookmaker must also be very personable. If he is not, then there is nothing stopping a client from doing business with another bookmaker. To go along with these attributes he must be trustworthy. If a bookmaker

is dishonest, his chances for survival are slim. All he has to go on is his reputation and if it is shady, word will get around quickly. He must also face the reality that the chances of him having a wife and family are slim. The nature of the business dictates that there will be highs and lows, which very few people outside the subculture can accept. As with any job, it helps it he enjoys it. The risks of apprehension by the police or a major loss necessitate adopting this attitude. There are easier and surer ways to make a dollar in this society, but if he has all these qualities the chances are good that he will make it in the business and earn a very good living while making book.

The Bookmaker's Income

The bottom line for the bookmaker is how much money he makes. As previously mentioned, the vigorish is not enough to sustain him. He must take some risks in order to make a good living. And if it pays off, it can be a very lucrative living. This is why many bookmakers are not interested in legalized bookmaking. The cost to them if they are a good bookmaker is far too great. Ideas put forth by Sturgeon (1974) (refer to Chapter 2, page 55) regarding legalized bookmaking were turned down when posed to the bookmakers I spoke with.

To place a single figure for a yearly wage on a bookmaker is very difficult. Each bookmaker is different in the way he handles his clients and business. If a bookmaker is a good businessman, it would not be unrealistic for him to make upwards to $50,000 per year. But as in any business, many bookmakers do not make this amount. In addition, there is the added hazard that a bookmaker can go broke if he is not careful.

This salary is derived primarily from betting action on two sports; one being NFL football, the other NHL hockey. On a given weekend in the football season, a bookmaker may have upwards of $10,000 wagered on various teams. For hockey the sum would be about half that or $5,000 per week. These totals would substantially increase at playoff time, as bettors look to make more money before the season ends or to get back on even terms.

Like any other business, a bookmaker is required to file income tax. Because of the laws stating that your income tax return is confidential, if a bookmaker files, he files on his earnings as a bookmaker. He files his income tax on a legitimate tax return form. It is against the law for the police to obtain these records and use them for prosecution. If a bookmaker does not file an income tax return, he faces the same risk as any person who does not file. In these instances, he becomes just like any citizen working on any job who does not file and can face prosecution. Bookmakers do file and the information, because of our legal system, cannot be used against him for prosecution.

If legalized bookmaking by the government became a reality most observers feel the bookmakers would suffer, yet the bookmakers in this study indicated their losses would be minimal. Their biggest asset is that they will extend credit, whereas a government agency would not. This means that a client on good terms with his bookmaker can wager without the money up front and usually interest free for a period of time. The government would not likely extend credit, but if they did, they would have to charge interest on it. Another benefit of dealing with a bookmaker is that the client is not taxed on his winnings. Taxation is one of the benefits besides elimination of the bookmaker that the government would hope to obtain from legalization. If a person can

wager and receive his winnings tax free, then there is little chance that he will wager with a government run bookmaking parlor when he will be taxed on his winnings. The legalization of bookmaking may create limited revenue from smalltime gamblers, but the chances of eliminating the bookie are minute. The overhead costs to attract the neighborhood gambler make the feasibility of legalized gambling unlikely. The bookmaker will not be affected and, as they have found out in New York with regards to race track betting, the anticipated monetary windfall does not materialize.

Relations with Others in and Around the Business

For a bookmaker to function properly, he must maintain a positive relationship with both his clients and other bookmakers. To maintain his clients, he must be honest and dependable. A client must be sure that he can place a bet when he wishes and that he will be paid upon winning. The same is true for the bookmaker; he relies on the client to place bets regularly and pay his debts when due. A neutral or negative relationship would be detrimental to both parties. A neutral relationship would not destroy both parties, but would be harmful to both in the manner in which transactions may take place. Credit and payment may have to take place at every meeting and this in itself may kill the relationship. If a negative relationship arose, then both parties would be required to go their separate ways. It may result in the client not being able to find another bookmaker, or the bookmaker probably losing more clients.

A bookmaker requires a positive relationship with other bookies as well. Although the interaction if often minimal, when the need does

arise for layoffs or a favor it pays to be on good terms with your colleagues. A bookmaker could survive a neutral relationship, but it would hamper him somewhat. He would need to be much more careful in the amount of wagers he accepts on one team, because a layoff system would not be available. A negative relationship with his colleagues would possibly result in the end of his career. If the situation became bad enough, the police may be tipped off by his colleagues in order to remove him from their fraternity.

On the other hand, the bookmaker maintains neutral relationships with two other groups. These are the media and the police. The bookmaker must be careful not to create either a positive or negative relationship with the media. A positive relationship would hurt the bookmaker. It is of great value for a bookmaker to know of a key injury or line-up change the public is not aware of when setting the line, while at the same time it is important that the media not become identified with the bookmaking industry. By publishing the line they are giving the public what it wants and this is how they stay in business. A bookmaker can still obtain the odds regardless of whether they are published or not. The papers are not doing it for the bookmakers but for the general populace.

The relationship the bookmaker has with the police is somewhat different than one would expect. As long as neither one is affected by the bookmaking industry, everything runs smoothly. If, however, the relationship becomes positive the image of the police force is hurt and they must counteract this by arrests or fines. If, on the other hand, the relationship becomes negative, the bookmaker must be aware of the police attempting to obtain significant information for a conviction. If both parties stay out of each other's way, they get along fine, but

if the pendulum swings one way or the other, the relationship changes dramatically.

For the bookmaker to succeed he has to walk the fine line of all these relationships. One false step either way may result in his business being hurt or possibly shut down totally. As has been stated, the job of being a bookmaker is not easy. He requires a great many skills that others have gone to school to acquire. He must receive on the job training.

V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The primary purpose of the study was to provide an in-depth occupational profile of the bookmaker and, second, to examine his role in society. There was a definite connection between gambling and sport, in which the bookmaker plays a central role. To understand the bookmaker's role would better enable us to understand the relationship between gambling and sport. The sample was limited to discussions with ten bookmakers from either Calgary or Edmonton. This was out of a total of approximately forty bookmakers within the province. Because all responses were similar, confidence in the findings can be assumed. All bookmakers interviewed were involved in sports betting and not horse racing. The bookmakers, who were involved with horse racing, were reluctant to talk with anyone but close friends on any subject related to their business.

A list of questions was developed by the author for the bookmakers to answer (Appendix A). These questions were presented verbally during the interviews the author had with each bookmaker. This is in accord with Polksy (1969), who recommended that no recording devices or lists be used when talking to criminal elements. As a follow up to this approach, the author also became an unobtrusive observer to some of the transactions undertaken by the bookmakers.

Responses were grouped into seven major categories of the bookmaker's life, namely:

(1) Socialization of the Bookmaker

(2) The Bookmaker's daily routine

(3) The Bookmaker's clientele

(4) The Bookmaker's colleagues

(5) The Bookmaker and the Law

(6) Problems of the Bookmaker -

(a) clients who don't pay

(b) lay-offs

(c) setting and adjusting the line

(7) The Bookmaker's family life

The findings were then discussed according to the sociological literature on this topic.

Conclusions

Based on the evidence drawn from this study, the following conclusions may be drawn.

The bookmaker comes from a low income background. Socio-economic status is often related to ethnicity and this was the case with bookmakers. Few bookmakers are native born Canadians, with most coming from Hispanic or Italian backgrounds. As a result of their background, most bookmakers have little formal education. A bookmaker with a grade twelve education would be considered highly educated compared to most bookmakers. This lack of schooling is usually due to their quitting school at an early age to make money to help support their families.

To be considered a bookmaker by your colleagues one must make book on a full time basis. A part time bookmaker is frowned upon by full time bookmakers. A favorable impression by other bookmakers is essential for the purpose of laying off bets or occasionally setting the line.

In Alberta, the most common type of bookmaker is the travelling bar bookie. This is the term applied by Pace and Styles (1975) to a bookmaker who uses bars to conduct his business. This works out well for the bookmaker's clients, who tend to be from the upper income brackets. A client can frequent a lounge or restaurant during his lunch hour and unobtrusively place a wager with his bookmaker without being inconvenienced.

Contrary to the movie stereotype of the loud flashy bookie, the bookmakers in this study were conservative, well dressed gentlemen. Very few of the bookmakers had a stable family life. The job insecurity, the irregular hours and the threat of police harassment are hazards which tend to scare most women away from a long term meaningful relationship.

The police do very little to curtail the bookmaking industry. Other than tapping phones, there is very little else the police force can do. They know who the bookmakers are and very often who their clients are, but they are powerless to do anything about it in most circumstances.

Implications

On the basis of the literature reviewed and the results of this study, there appears to be many inconsistencies. The method of obtaining data may need to be assessed. It is very difficult in two or three sessions with a bookmaker to get a true feeling for the business. A more longitudinal study with participation by the author may help one understand all aspects of the business.

Legalized gambling has been instituted in various areas with varying results. In Nevada it has proven prosperous, but to think that it has removed illegal gambling or bookmaking would be absurd. In New York

Off Track Betting (OTB) was supposed to be a cash windfall for the state. Instead, the problems it caused make it difficult to justify the relatively small sums of revenue it creates. Before a province institutes legalized gambling, it must be cognizant of the benefits and pitfalls of doing so. If one of the purported benefits is to cut down on the bookmaking industry, then the people responsible need to do more homework. As it now stands, the bookmaking industry would stand to profit little from legalized betting and their clients even less. As a client of a bookmaker you are required to pay no tax on your winnings, but if you were to wager and win at a betting shop the government would have a record of it and thus may require you to pay taxes on it.

The other major criticism of legalized bookmaking pertains to the ineffectiveness of present methods of policing the bookmaking industry. Police admit that there is little if anything that they can do to curtail the bookmaking industry with the way the laws are now. They are not even sure if stricter laws would result in any significant decrease in illegal gambling. The root of the problem lies with the ambivalence toward gambling by the general public. It is not uncommon for friends to wager on a game and give a certain number of points, or even the police force to have an NHL pool at the station. By definition all of these people are breaking the law. The only difference with the bookmaking industry is that they are usually using higher stakes and they have often been connected to underworld figures. To assume that the legalization of gambling would curtail the bookmaking industry is unfounded based on the results of this study. Furthermore, to rewrite the law may have drastic implications on the people who bet with a friend or engage in a hockey pool at work.

The number of persons who engage in sport, either directly or indirectly, increases every year. Putting a wager on a game with a friend for a dollar is similar to a person wagering with a bookmaker, except the frequency of the wagers and the amount bet varies substantially. A problem may arise if someone wagers who cannot afford it, but a good bookmaker does everything within his power to avoid this situation. People who wager with a bookmaker can afford to bet, otherwise the bookmaker would not take them as clients. What the bookmaker may not be aware of is the effect the wagering has on the family life of the client. Much like alcohol, gambling can result in the breakup of a marriage or a person losing their job.

The bookmaking industry as the author sees it, provides a service to the people. If the truth has been stated and the industry in Alberta is not involved with organized crime to support other vices like drugs and prostitution, then the indifferent attitude of the police and the public is understandable. The police are stymied and the public is receiving a service they obviously want.

None of the people interviewed in the study ever stated that the bookmakers should be put out of business. On the contrary, most thought the topic was of great interest and saw nothing wrong with the business. Sports, being such an integral dimension in society, is a logical outlet on which to gamble. People usually back the home team, so it only stands to reason that in Alberta football and hockey would attract the largest amounts of money wagered. A wager on a team usually has some intrinsic value for people. It makes the game more interesting, usually evoking some form of euphoria.

If, as stated, the bookmaking industry is not a front for organized crime, then its harm to society is limited. Society may lose out on

some tax dollars, but this is reclaimed if the bookmaker files an income tax return. The bookmaker obviously is providing a commodity the public wants or they would be out of business. Problems can arise if a person gets in too deep and cannot afford to pay off his debts. The result may be a family breakup, as mentioned earlier. Fortunately, the people who wager with bookmakers are usually well off and this problem very seldom arises. Due to the fact that the people who wager can afford the losses, the incidences of the preceding would be much higher in other forms of gambling which involve the less wealthy who cannot afford the losses. As a result of the preceding the bookmakers may be doing some members of society a favor by not accepting bets from them. Totally by coincidence he may be saving many people from bankruptcy, divorce or suicide. Society is not jeopardized by the bookmakers, but the benefits to society are also minimal. He is there, has always been there, and will probably always be there regardless of his overall impact on society. Bookmaking is a science or craft for both the bookmakers and many clients. Chance has very little to do with the results.

Recommendations for Future Study

The following recommendations for further study are based on the results of this study and the obvious lack of information on the topic within the literature.

(1) It is recommended that a study be undertaken whereby the researcher plays the role of a bookmaker. This would shed more light on the actual business transactions that take place.

(2) Another perspective that would be beneficial is that of a client. The major difficulty in this approach would arise from the financial demands necessary to be involved in betting action. Information could be gathered from both a sociological and psychological viewpoint, which could provide insight on the bookmaker as well as his clients.

(3) This study is generalized only to Alberta. The same type of study could be undertaken across Canada or the United States to see if there are major differences.

(4) A study on the bookmaking industry in Las Vegas would be very useful to other states or provinces contemplating legalizing sports betting. With the industry being legal in Nevada, there are probably a great many differences both positive and negative, other than obvious ones, that would become apparent.

(5) The feasibility of legalized bookmaking is constantly being studied. The bookmaker's expertise on gambling and his views may provide insight on the feasibility of this undertaking.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

The following is a list of questions prepared by the author on the bookmaking industry. As stated in the methods section, no exact pattern or wording of questions was followed. They were for referral use after a session with a bookmaker as a reminder of what questions needed answers in the following session.

How did you become involved in the bookmaking industry?

How long have you been a bookmaker?

How do you attain a clientele?

Who are your clientele?

(1) age?

(2) sex?

(3) SES?

How much do you wager?

How are payoffs made?

How much credit can a person receive and for what length of time?

How does a person become one of your clients?

- Do you screen people?

(1) for how long?

(2) what process do you use?

How does a client make a wager?

(1) phone?

(2) person?

What do you do in the case of overdue debts?

What is the largest bet you will accept?

What is the smallest bet you will accept?

How much would you make in a year?

What was your socio-economic status before you became a bookmaker?

How are the odds set?

Why are some games taken off the books?

What will you take a bet on and what will you refuse to take a bet on, if anything?

On what sport is the most money wagered?

Is it ever necessary to take a lead?

Is there a lot of competition from other bookmakers?

Is there any communication between bookies?

How many of you are in the city?

Are there both male and female bookmakers?

Are you married?

Do you make your living from bookmaking or is it more of a second job or hobby?

Do you use a runner?

Do you have a layoff system?

Are the police a problem?

(1) harassment?

(2) fines?

Do you have to pay off anyone?

(1) police?

(2) mafia?

Do you view what you are doing as bad or evil?

Is it a dangerous occupation?

What, if anything, would cause you to give up being a bookmaker?

Would you vote for legalization of gambling and bookmaking?

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

DAILY LOG

This would be completed immediately after a session with a bookmaker to help myself remember key points.

WHERE WE MET _____

_____

WHEN: TIME AND DATE _____

DRESS: BOOKMAKER _____

CLIENTELE _____

NUMBER OF PEOPLE PRESENT _____

WAGERS THAT TOOK PLACE: AMOUNT _____

SPORT _____

BOOKMAKERS CHILDHOOD _____

_____

_____

VIEWS ON LEGALIZATION _____

_____

_____

_____

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